strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made with an awl (nsôb), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekôb). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-grey color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree,, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsôk I (1). since

1. In addition, we find nkôb I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekôb.

n-sô-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sô which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sô) in the bark container (action is involved

285 415 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovûk, the ordinary large ones dzûd, mîl dzûd - real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(f) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkâne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 517 531 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

1: Tessmann--236 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

322 6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden plates
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/.
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whizzers
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phalli
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

302 442 The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives; in reality, they do not encase the cutter but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

[531]

322 [352] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [804] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwāk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. [824] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare a-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386 531] legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 476 435 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

1: Tessmann--238 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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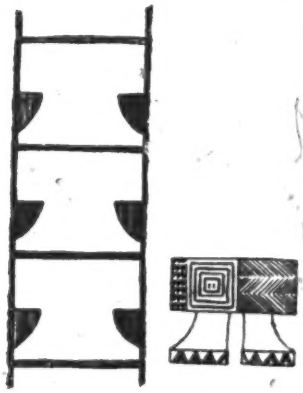

Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone [463] is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

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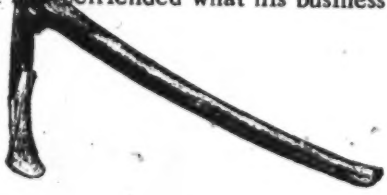

Fig. 173. Adz.

322 434 554 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 415 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏ̄b) is, like their form, fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[824] 1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā, III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭ̄'le Ntum, dzĭ́ III, nyō'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emyila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the [824] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebă'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood [442] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fō'nege-tōk). Figure 177.

322 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndŏk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekūk) and the [824] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 534 824 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myĕ' IV Ntum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asŏ'n); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akŏ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebăi) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 411 [824] Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, osă bĕ'i' (1). The

1. să = to split, bĕ'i' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awŏn), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

1: Tessmann--241 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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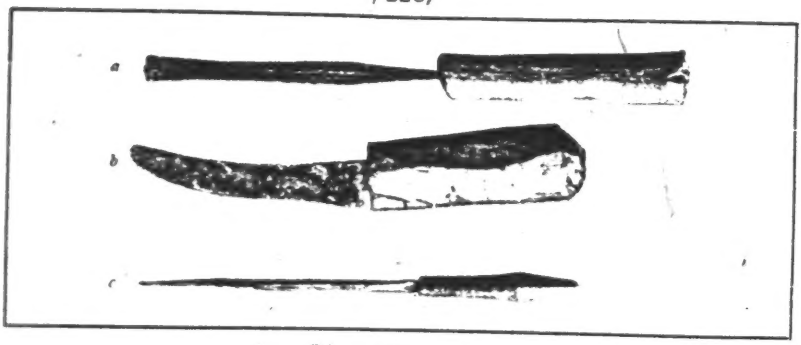

Fig. 174.
(a) Chisel, (b) Saw, and (c) Awl.

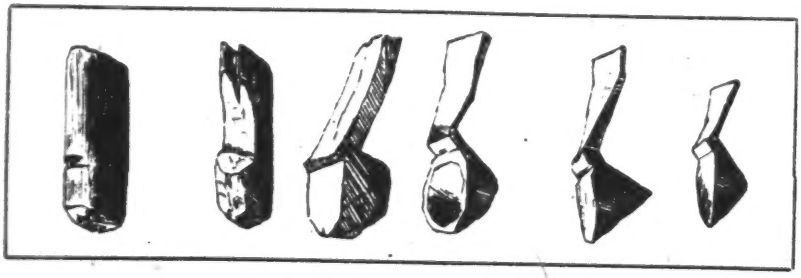

Fig. 175. Making a Ladling Spoon.

Fig. 176. Stages in Making a Ladling Spoon.
Longitudinal Section.

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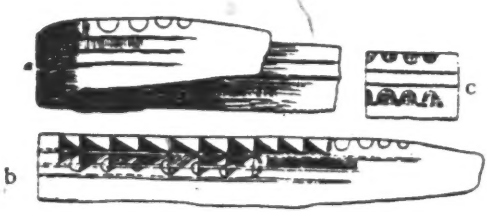

Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

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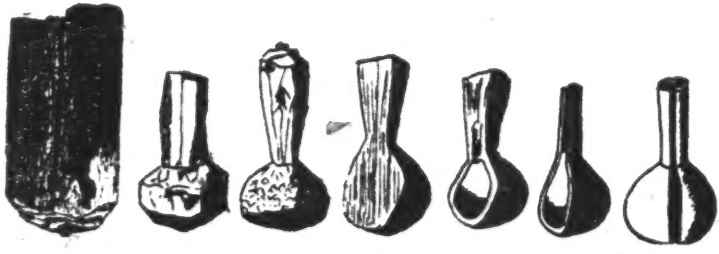

Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

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out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

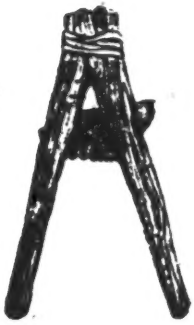

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Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okɔ̰n̄) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abɔ̌ʼm, bɔ̌ʼme IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezɨzɔ̌ʼn̄), and poison (nsʉ̰). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bɔ̌me o si = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abɔ̌ʼm from a bɔ̌m, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

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[435]
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[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

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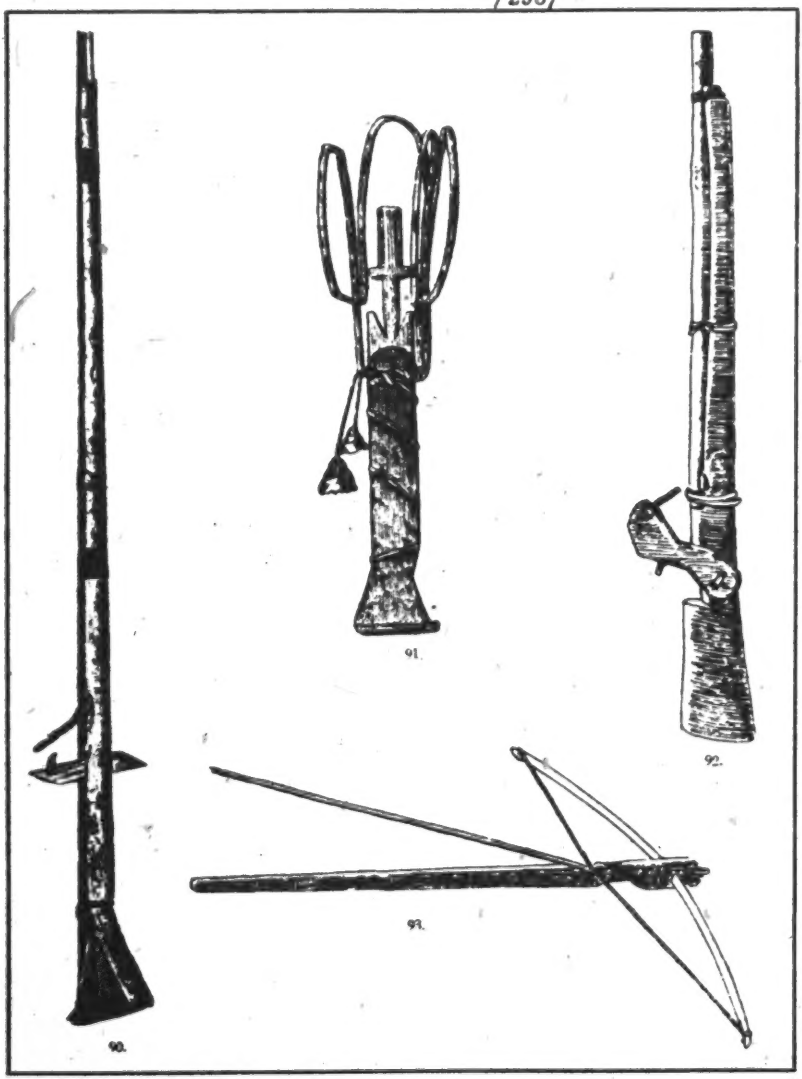

Fig. 90. Child's War Rifle of Plantain Leafstalk.
Fig. 91. Child's Sword of Raffia Pith, in a Bark Sheath.
Fig. 92. Child's Hunting Rifle of Wood.
Fig. 93. Child's Crossbow (Drawn).

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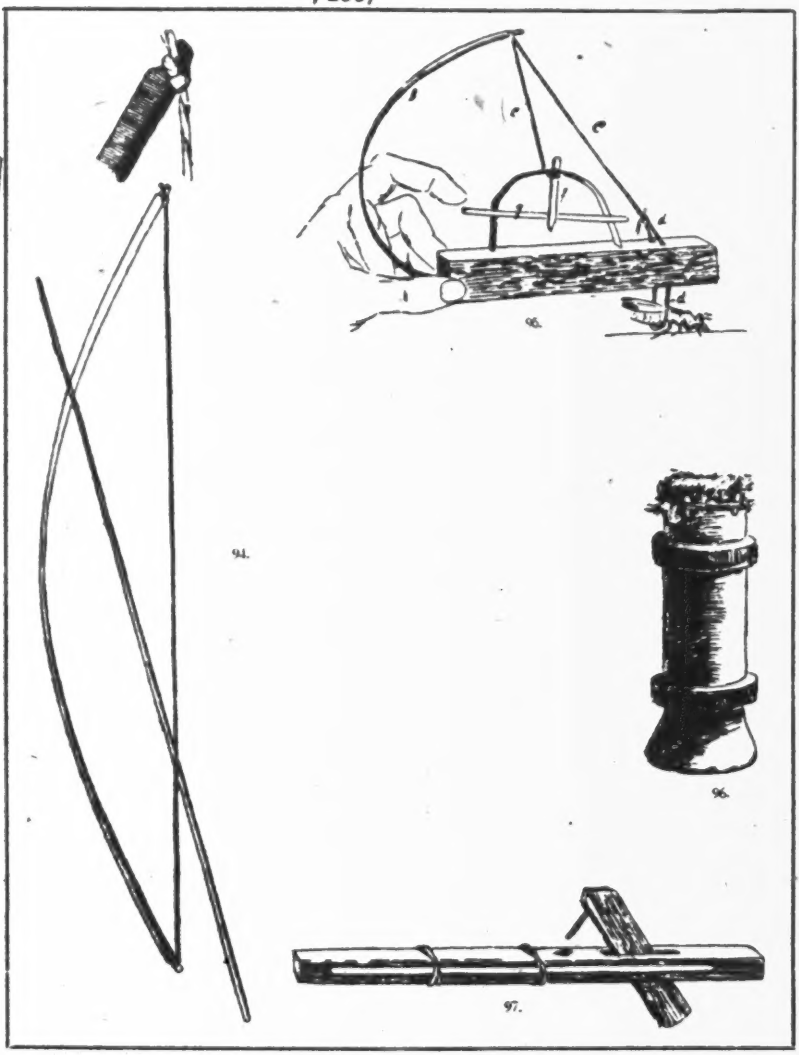

Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

524 fourth stone. These two, three, or four stones then count as prisoners. Since, therefore, only "houses" with a few stones or, as the Negro says, "people," fall victim to the enemy, we shall call such a compartment a weak compartment while every other compartment, that is, a compartment in which there is no stone or in which there are four or more stones, shall be called a strong compartment.

Now a player, if his last stone strikes a weak compartment, may plunder not only this but also all immediately preceding weak compartments. An example will clarify this. Suppose on B's side there are -- something which he should, of course, have prevented -- one stone in compartment I, four in compartment II,

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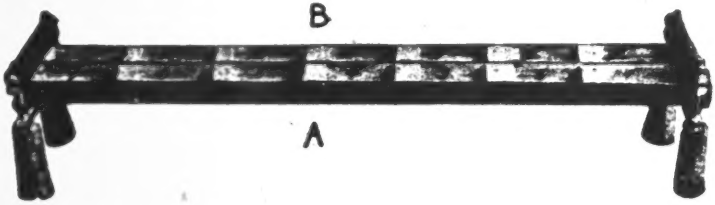

Fig. 115. Stone Game, made of Raffia Stalks and Wooden Legs, Jaunde. One-sixth actual size.

two in compartment III, three in compartment IV, two in compartment V, nine in compartment VI, and five in compartment VII; further, suppose A has seven stones in compartment 5. In that case A will place these stones in compartments 6, 7, I, II, III, IV, and V, and he will take prisoner the two stones lying in compartment V, as well as his own stone that he has added to them; in addition, he will take prisoner the three lying in compartment IV with his striking stone, and the two lying in compartment III with his striking stone, so that altogether he will have ten prisoners.

[322]

Fig. 116. Stone Game, made of Wood, Southern Pangwe Region. One-fifth actual size.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I 342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 734 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. ●[322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.